1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

000 economic role is usually minor. The individual or the unit family of
565 the lower class is usually linked very closely, mainly in the economic
571 sense, with an employer or merchant of influence (patrão). In a society in which personal relationships ("connections") count for so much, only a member of the upper class can be of real economic or political assistance.

565 Childhood in the lower class is quite different from that in
857 the upper class family. From an early age the children must, out of economic necessity, accept many responsibilities. Young children frequently work in the fields or find odd jobs in the town. The girls may do the housework, cook, and manage the younger children while the mother works. The young sons, even six or seven years old, may pack a bundle of agricultural products across the município on the morning of market day. In the evening they return with the few articles of food or clothing which they have been able to purchase with the proceeds from their goods. As they grow older, the children either undertake more of the farm work or drift off to the nearby rural areas and villages or to Salvador. The girls may find employment [464] as servants or as agricultural or industrial workers. Ultimately [885] most will marry and settle down to a grinding life of poverty, childbearing, disease, and hard labor, which will, however, be relieved by an informal and highly convivial social life.

565 The position of the woman is still inferior to that of the
562 man, but she has relatively greater economic, social, and sexual independence than the woman of the upper class.

565 The social life of lower class families is in marked contrast
176 to the narrow, formal, and sexually-discriminatory social life of the aristocracy. Lower class life is filled not only with poverty but also with a tremendous series of religious and quasi-religious festivals

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 462 857 On the cane plantations the field work of planting and harvesting is done by labor gangs composed of men, women, and older children. There is some specialization: men cut the cane, women gather and pile the cane stalks and leaves, and the older children assist at these tasks and at managing the ox carts. The smaller children remain at home, where they are responsible from a very early age for some household tasks.

241 592 462 857 Outside the sugar zone the family is a basic labor unit. Men, women, and children work in the fields as required and participate in processing tobacco and manioc. To an even greater extent than is characteristic of the sugar zone the children participate in family tasks, and as soon as they can manage the hoe, they join in the field work.

461 565 The upper class Baiano seldom does physical labor--to do physical work is to lower one's status. In the lower class work would seem to be approached as a somewhat unpleasant necessity which is best tackled in a cheerful and convivial atmosphere. The agricultural laborer is given to spells of extremely hard work interrupted by banter and occasional "horseplay." While the lone worker often seems rather cheerless and plodding in the field, the shouted jokes, songs, and exclamations of groups of laborers frequently resound throughout the countryside. The intermittent vigorous labor seems to be an extension of play, for there is little social evaluation of hard work for its own sake.

Despite the enthusiasm and commotion which surrounds almost any effort, the per capita productivity of the worker in the Recôncavo 461 is relatively modest. In part this is a result of the intermittent 147 character of the work, but a more important factor is the limited energy of the worker. The lower class of the Recôncavo is weakened by perennial hunger, bad diet, and disease.[27]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11 • Brazil SL1

000 BB [128] should be misleading. District data are desirable, but occupational breakdowns for these smaller political units are available neither for 1940 nor 1950. Furthermore, the areas of these districts cannot be calculated with even minimal accuracy from existing sources. Thus the distribution of rural population and agricultural labor force within municípios is largely a matter of inference. For example, the 1950 agricultural labor force was estimated, as has been seen, from the 1940 data and changes in rural population. Densities for each município were calculated from these estimates, and these densities were used as guides, in conjunction with the total populations of the various districts, in determining the distributional patterns of the map of the density of the agricultural labor force and the dot map of agricultural labor force. These maps are thus inferential distributions of inferred data.

[23]Smith, op. cit., p. 297.

BB [435] [24]Labor turnover is one of the explanations proffered for the high cost of sugar production in Bahia.

[25]The explanations offered by these migrants are various: lack of opportunity, a hostile or unfriendly landlord or creditor, a quarrel within the family or neighborhood, crop failure, or a desire to be near relatives.

[26]Joint Brazil-United States Economic Development Commission, The Development of Brazil (Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Foreign Operations Division. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), p. 16.

BB [796] [27]However, these people muster tremendous energy for festas (holidays or feast days), especially Carnaval. At such a time, a middle-aged lady with a chronic heart condition was observed to dance, in a procession, for several miles down the road. During the novena of Nossa Senhora de Purificão in Santo Amaro, the troups of performers will journey many miles to attend the celebration, dance and sing throughout the nights of each of the nine days, and without rest return to their homes.

BB [633] [28]The people of nine urban centers of the Recôncavo--Salvador, Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Cachoeira-São Félix, Santo Amaro, Maragogipe, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and São Gonçalo--are thus excluded from the rural population. These are the nine ranking cities of the Recôncavo, and all except São Gonçalo have more than 5,000 people. In addition to industry, those transportation, financial, retail, trade, and administrative functions which are not strictly local are confined to these urban centers, as well as wholesale trade and international commerce.

B [631] [633] [29]It is significant that Brazil has no urban political unit per se--the município or the distrito has both urban (city, town, or village) and rural sections without administrative expression.

B B [565] [562] [857] [30]In this society there are many women, especially in the lower class, who can scarcely be considered as dependent. Moreover, as has been seen, children are also frequently productive members of lower class families. In the upper class of the villages and towns, however, there are many children and housewives whose activities are either purely domestic or are only indirectly productive.

It must be remembered that these figures include the capital city, the population of which is about 450,000. If this is subtracted from the total population of the Recôncavo, the average density of the Recôncavo is approximately 27 persons per square kilometer.

Vila Recôncavo, the community of this study, is part of a county located 41 kilometers across the bay from Salvador. The community includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, which is the county seat, and the surrounding rural zone. Throughout the study we will be dealing with these two components of the sugar-cane plantation community, sometimes separately and sometimes together.

The only public transportation to the town is by boat from the capital, a three-hour trip across the bay, threading through numerous islands. The major part of the trip is made on remarkably blue water, usually serenely calm but occasionally violently agitated, especially during the winter. One-, two-, and three-masted sailing vessels and an occasional large sailing canoe, the centuries-old methods of transportation in Bahia, are passed on their way into the city, carrying fruit, vegetables, pottery, firewood, fish, tobacco, manioc flour, and sugar to the more than four hundred thousand people of the city, as they have done since the early colonization of the Recôncavo. The only new element in the scene is the small diesel boat which makes the trip back and forth across the bay, outward bound one day and returning the next with the outgoing tide.

As the boat nears the luxuriantly green, palm-crested islands, stopping at several to discharge the mail, passengers, and "city goods," one becomes aware of the feeling of stepping back into the past. Barefoot children are selling oranges, peanuts, and fish; and parrots and parakeets, sometimes doped with rum to make them appear tame. The mailman on the dock receives the sack of mail and gives it to his helper to carry to the post office; the island priest may receive a message or package entrusted to the captain of the boat or may even go aboard to travel to the church on another island. The others on the dock call to friends on the boat and exchange news or else simply watch the activity of docking the boat and the casting off. The people of the islands are light-skinned, although well sunburned. Many of them are vacationers from the city, dressed in brightly colored clothes, for the islands are well-known resorts. The others, barefoot, wearing shorts

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

Maria das Dores, whose name is listed as "gathering cane leaves for animal fodder," does the only type of work on the plantation done by women other than housework and gardening. When a field of cane is cut, the tops of the stalks and the long leaves are cut off and left on the ground. The very tip of the stalk is used as seed, while the heavier part is loaded on carts and sent to the factory. When natural pasturage gives out because of overgrazing or drought, the cattle's diet is supplemented with the freshly cut, green cane leaves; if the tender tips are not required for seed, they are also fed to the cattle. Gathering the leaves and stalk tips is relatively light work, and if a woman on the plantation wants to supplement her husband's income this is the task assigned her. Few women on this plantation do it, however, for it is a point of pride with any husband that he is capable of supporting his wife without her having to do gainful work. Only a small number of leaves are gathered up, and the remainder are burned as they lie in the field. Burning is done at night when there is little or no wind, and often during the summer fires which extend for acres dot the countryside. Burning is a traditional practice. Although professional agronomists insist that it is injurious to the cane roots and the new shoots, planters continue to burn the unwanted leaves, feeling that the ash provides some fertilization.

"Gardening" refers to work done in the vegetable garden which supplies Dona Sinhá's house. This garden stands in contrast to the roças, which are planted by the workers as well as by Dona Sinhá, and which are reserved for beans, manioc, corn, and some tobacco. Such plants as lettuce, tomatoes, cabbage, carrots, and other vegetables are disdained by the workers and are grown only for Dona Sinhá.

"Carrying water" is usually work reserved for a small boy. Mounted on a donkey with four wooden kegs he rides to the neighboring plantation, Pedras, which belongs to the factory, fills the kegs at the spring, and returns to Fazenda das Moças where he puts the water into the various large clay containers in the kitchen and washrooms of the owner's house. "Oh, Pedro, there's no water" is a common cry heard in Dona Sinhá's house.

There are few rules restricting the workers. Their services must be at the disposal of Dona Sinhá whenever required. Other than that, if during a slack season a man finds an opportunity to work somewhere else, he is free to do so. If he has a burro, or oxen, he has the right to pasture them on the

2: Hutchinson E-4,8 (1950-1951) 1987 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

men say that the fish are leaving, while others say there are just as many as ever. It is a difficult thing to prove one way or the other, for written records of the annual catches are only recent. However, there is no such thing as being unable to sell the fish they bring in. Many people in town have increased their consumption of fresh fish as a result of inflation, for it is less expensive than dried or fresh meat. The fishermen themselves eat a great deal of fish, always keeping enough out of a catch for their own family. The planters of the rural area complain that the fresh fish never arrive at the plantations any more as they did in the past. This is probably due to the icehouse in the town. The fishermen sell first to their "usual customers," the women who work with xangó and shrimp; what is left is sold to the icehouse to be packed and shipped to Bahia, rather than being sent out to the country.

The jereré, a small basketlike net built around an iron ring 1 1/2 feet in circumference, is used by women and children along the shore and is part of a subsistence activity. It catches only a small crab (siri), an occasional eel, and other small fish which are cooked for the table in the form of moqueca, a sort of stew highly seasoned with peppers and dendê oil. The tideswamps abound in a large crab called the caranguejo, which is also highly prized for the table. Children often catch these, but a man who does so is called a caranguejeiro, a derogatory term. The hunter seeks the crab by sticking his arm down into its hole, which is usually very deep, at least arm's length. As a result he is always covered with the thick black mud so typical of the tideswamps. Often a tropeiro de cima comes to the town and commissions someone to catch the crabs, which he wraps carefully in mud and leaves and carries to the northern hinterland to sell.

The second largest subgroup in Group 3 is composed of the twenty-four gardeners (roçeiros) who are engaged in small-scale commercial farming, rather than subsistence horticulture. They live in town and have their small fields on the outskirts of Vila Recôncavo. All of these fields are located on the plantation Engenho Da Vila ("P" on map of community), and they range from one, two, or three acres in size to as many as fifteen acres, rented from the plantation at Cr$100,00 an acre per year. The major crops are manioc, bananas, and to a lesser extent tobacco, sugar cane for chewing (cana de chupar), corn, beans, and squash. Because there are only 265

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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ing, exciting sounds, which continue for hours on end. Little boys pick up the rhythms quickly and soon associate each rhythm with the particular spirit who dances to it. As they grow older and show interest in it, they may be allowed to relieve one of the drummers during an interval and in this way join the others in some less important part of the ceremony, until finally the zelador feels they know enough to drum for the entire evening.

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The entire proceedings are considered too strenuous for children, as much for the boy drummers as for the girl dancers. If a small girl shows signs of possession during the ceremony she is taken away, for until she is over fourteen dancing is considered too strenuous for her. But unless her family refuses, she may be coached in all the rituals by the other dancers and the zelador. The ceremonies always draw more onlookers than performers, and outside the rural cult house a man has set up a small stand to sell refreshments. As many as can, enter the room and line the walls, while the others stand outside, looking in through the open doors and windows. Most people know the procedure in a vague way and know whom the drums are calling and who "has" which saint.

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The ceremonies are rather long, the first step in the actual performance being the calling of the saints. The evening's participants dance in a circle while the drums call the various spirits. It sometimes takes quite a while for the saint to come, and there are times when he does not come at all. One young man danced unsuccessfully for over an hour and was finally removed, exhausted, by the zelador. When someone in the circle "falls," he is quickly led out of the room and into the pegi where the zelador changes his clothing, putting on him the costume of the spirit. In the meantime the others rest or may keep on dancing, becoming possessed one after the other, depending upon the type of ceremony. After the possessed person has been dressed and has completed the necessary ritual, he is led back into the main room where he now, as the saint, dances in earnest until tired or angered by something which occurs in the room. Often the zelador gives the signal for the drums to change their rhythm, indicating the end of the dance, by which time the person is physically very tired although emotionally highly keyed up. He is led back into the pegi to complete the detailed rituals, and is then given a place to rest and to come back to normal. As a rule he soon joins the others in the front room as a spectator. By

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Bahia, tend to implement and to support the Brazilian racial policy. For the Catholic church, by emphasizing ritual, centers attention *outside the individual* upon common objects; while the Protestant churches, by emphasizing belief, center attention *upon the individual*, thus tending to increase self-consciousness and, consequently, awareness of difference which, in so far as the self and its distinguishing characteristics are identified with a group, automatically increases *group*-consciousness.

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The Catholic conceptions tend to lay emphasis upon the community, upon the totality of individuals. For it is through his participation in the community that the individual in the Catholic view gains recognition as a person. The Protestant churches, on the other hand, tend to emphasize the individual. It is by reason of his inherent worth that the community in which he participates gains meaning in the Protestant ideology.

The Catholic procedure thus tends to unify the community, while the Protestant procedure tends to divide it into separate groups, each of which emphasizes its points of difference with all the others and tends to be divisive in its attitude toward the others. Obviously, a sect (which is by its very nature a conflict group) can in no other way live. The Catholic procedure lays a premium upon solidarity, while the Protestant lays a premium upon diversity.

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Indicative of race relations among the younger generation at Bahia is the behavior of three groups of children who were observed playing together in Campo Grande. Aged approximately four to fifteen years, they were hilariously enjoying themselves. When first noted, there were at the "giant stride" 4 blacks, 5 mulattoes, and 2 whites. At the teeter-totter were 1 black, 9 mulattoes, and 15 whites. At

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

the garden swing were 11 blacks, 8 mulattoes, and 7 whites. There was considerable moving about from group to group. In the garden of the governor's palace a similar band, aged about seven to thirteen years, were laughing and shouting together around another teeter-totter. Among them were 3 blacks, 5 mulattoes, and 4 whites. "Beginning with his earliest years," wrote a white student, "a child in Bahia is accustomed to associating with all racial types without any distinction being made between them."

In Campo da Graça" 6 whites and 5 mulattoes (one of whom was quite dark) composed the team of the Faculty of Law in a soccer game with the Faculty of Medicine (among whom were 7 whites, 3 mulattoes, and 1 black). In the subsequent professional contest 9 whites, 4 mulattoes, and 4 blacks composed the visiting team from São Paulo, coached by a *cafuso*. Bahia's colors were upheld by 2 whites, 5 mulattoes, 9 blacks, and 1 *cafuso*. The referee was a *branco da Bahia*.

At an informal basketball game played on an outdoor court at the Fortress of São Pedro, a black and 4 mulattoes composed one team; a black, 2 mulattoes, and 2 whites, the other. The referee was a black.

At a tea dance given at Bahia's most exclusive club in honor of Getulio Vargas, president of Brazil, the city's most distinguished citizens and their families, to an approximate total of 600, were present. No blacks were among the guests, and only 28 individuals were noticeably negroid, 6 of whom were dark mulattoes. At a banquet subsequently given the President, all individuals seated at his table were white. A number of mixed-bloods, however, principally light mulattoes, were among the guests. Two of the six speakers at the

" On March 22, 1936.